

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1937

Documents = bold italics

01Jan28- Cover “***Statement of N.C. Minority;***”

01Jan28-1b p. 41 & 42: *Document: Jan. 28/37 ‘Statement of N.C. Minority;’* RD: “very important document all the more so in that there is no serious majority document (where is RD’s contribution) by Maurice Altman – The whole tone of this document is defeatist – formalistic, sterile – obviously no leadership. See Ross Dowson p. 41 – when did RD join Cdn Section? P.45 NB in opposing adult entry; have to sharpen up youth work.”

03Mar1 ***Document ‘Rough Notes by Ross Dowson – names of majority of activists of SYL;’*** an analysis of the results of entry by the Spartacus Youth League into the CCYM (CCF youth); the lack of progress of recruitment and education in the four units of CCYM; the loss of activism of ex-SYL comrades engaged in entry

03Mar-99 SYL activists list

1937-00-2a-1-2-3-4-5-6 (6 pages -- ***see W23-Documents***) -- *undated document found in 1939, signed by Clark and Dowson, with alterations by unknown person*), re: **the formal decision to enter CCYM** (CCF Youth) the previous year, public entry refused by PEC (CCF); “back-door entry;” the nature of the previous party opposition to entry; assessing the entry tactic; the situation within the CCF; the question of split vs. the party orientation; the need to continue an independent existence; a survey of the strength of the SY Clubs; 5 reasons for the entry tactic; 2 observations on the CCYM as a fruitful arena

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1938

Documents = bold italics

(SEE 1937) *Undated notes to self:* “Key documents on 1938 entry:”

- (a) “Feb/38 Cdn executive document on entry into CCF
see page 3 – vote 35 to 20 in favour. – Minority/majority agree on rapprochement
at Chicago”
- (b) “Pacific Bureau declares delay harmful to our work”
- (c) “dated April May/38 – agree to set up Soc Policy Group – hold a unification
following completion of entryism”

Feb. 12 -1 -2 -3 -4 -5 -6 -7

(b) Document: Feb. 12, 1938: “*Canadian Section, Buro for Fourth International: Internal Report for All America – Pacific Commission,*” re:
C.C.F., C.P., Workers Party, Canadian Report, Youth, Entry, Priority after entry,
Social composition, Our present activity; Negotiations with Minority, Field Group,
Our perspectives.

Apr. 15 Cover -1 -2 -3 -4

(c) Document: “Bulletin on War;” *Issued by the SPG re: the critical test of the
coming war, our defence of the Soviet Union; our attitude to imperialist war; on
pacifism and isolationism; our demands.*

April-May -1 -2

**(d) “Resolution of the All-American and Pacific Pre-Conference (April-May
1938) concerning the work of the Canadian Section of the Fourth
International;”** endorsing the Socialist Policy Group to work in the CCF on the
basis of a declaration on the war question; setting a time limit on the entry; other
work arenas.

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1939

Documents = bold italics

1939-01Jan-1-*Undated document found in January, “The Founding Conference of the Fourth International: Program and Resolutions,”*

1939-01Jan-2 *Resolution on the Work of the Canadian Section,”* report of the All-American and Pacific pre-Conference

1939-01Jan-3 *(continued)* endorsing the entry tactic of the SPG on certain conditions;

1939-01Jan-4 *(continued)* advice on steps to be taken on the establishment of an independent party or group in the near future

1939-02Feb16*(see W23-- author Robertson)* Document of the National Committee, S.W.L. of Canada, *“Evaluation of CCF Entry;”* WPC dissolved in May 1937 with the majority entering the CCF to crystallize a left wing; the slow progress of integration; entry about to end; the positive experiences gained despite failure of tactic.

1939-03Mar20-1 **Program of action** (article in *Socialist Action*, official organ of the Socialist Workers’ League of Canada, Toronto: ‘’ Program of action to meet the coming war; Failure of CCF and CP

1939-03Mar20-2 The need for a revolutionary party; Break with the British Empire

1939-03Mar20-3 Against Imperialist War; for Socialist Defense (against national defense and pacifism); Workers’ control, not capitalist ‘nationalization’

1939-03Mar20-4 The farmers; Federal work for the workless, at trade union rates; The fight for better living standards

1939-03Mar20-5 How to fight fascism -- For a Farmer-Labor Government

1939-09Sept-1 *(Undated flyer found in September);* **Build the anti-war party**, Workers of Canada! Today, as in 1914, you are being betrayed into war! What is to be done,” issued by the Socialist Workers League, Canadian Section of the Fourth International

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Years 1940 – 41 – 42

Documents = bold italics

- 1941-05May-1 Document: ‘‘Internal Bulletin No. 1, by the Socialist Workers League of Canada, Canadian Section of the Fourth International;’’
RD: ‘‘RD thinks he wrote this after the defection of Stubbins and Easton: ‘‘The new task – From an educational sect to a proletarian movement;’’ on the need to proletarianize the League and break our isolation; we are under the pressure of war and the Defence of Canada Regulations; a call to action of comrades
- 1941_99 (*Undated handwritten notes, found in 1941*), ‘‘The War, Women & Industry’’; on the historical demand for female labor in times of war; now in Canada women are a permanent part of workforce, concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations but increasing doing men’s jobs while remaining largely unorganized

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1943-1944

Documents = bold italics

1943

- 06_16th Letter to ‘‘Dear Mother,’’ stationed at Three Rivers, Quebec; have reached the status of Cadet (officers training)
- 08_02 +(Handwritten letter from Lois Bedard archive) Dear Lois: advice on her future courses and career choices, the danger of her losing her intellectual independence as a civil servant; his army life in Three Rivers, Quebec

1944

- 05_11th Letter to ‘‘Gentlemen:’’ (superiors in the Canadian Army) re: ‘‘my desire to resign my commission in the Canadian army’’
- 11_20th Letter to ‘‘Dear Gang,’’ on contacts and need for literature; a review of the left press and possible formats and names for a movement paper
- 11_29th Letter to ‘‘Dear friends;’’ ‘‘Ideas pre-press’’ (the importance of the paper’s name, aimed primarily at the CCF; its format and its major programmatic demands and columns; it is not to become a forum)
- 12_10th Letter to ‘‘Dear Frank,’’ re: urging him not to take time off so soon after the Montreal Conference where he was named to the N.C. and to the editorial board of our press

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1943-1944

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S T A T E M E N T

O F

N. C. M I N O R I T Y

very important document all the more so
in that there is no serious majority document

Jan 28 (37)

where is RD's
Contribution

by Maurice Alloman

See Ross Brown p 41
p 45

When did RD
NB

in opposing a built entry
have to sharpen up your work?

The whole tone
of this document
is defeatist-
formalistic, sterile
lacking any leadership
section?

Pages 41 & 42: ...Already the strategy and tactics as pursued by our comrades in the CCYM is beginning to break down. The Beverley unit, which our comrades organised, will most likely be expelled in the near future. But, although the majority of its members will follow our group, it may be expected that the bureaucracy will succeed in breaking off a number of members who will follow their opportunist line. Our comrades will thus have done a service to the bureaucracy by having recruited for it some new supporters.

A still more glaring example of the danger of this senseless policy is contained in the recent occurrences in York Township. In that district no C. C.Y.M. unit existed and one of our comrades (Ross Dawson) was directed by our fraction to attempt to organize such a unit in the expectation that it would be under our influence. Comrade Dawson proceeded to get some people together and after a while he succeeded in forming a group of some 16 young workers who agreed to constitute themselves as a branch of the C.C.Y.M. For tactical reasons, however, our comrade had to carefully conceal the fact that he is a Trotskyite or that he has any revolutionary leanings. However, because he is a brother of another Dawson, who is a prominent party member (which is enough ground for suspicion), the bureaucracy at once became alert and after calling young Dawson the carpet for cross-examination, they started to work within the group to isolate and undermine his influence. This met with complete success. After the provincial E.C. refused to recognize the group as a branch of the C.C.Y.M. unless they would expel young Dawson, the group expelled its founder and organizer for the price of a charter from the opportunist bureaucracy. Here our comrade spent his time and effort to organise a group of young workers in order that the unscrupulous bureaucracy of the C.C.Y.M. might take it away from his influence and transform it into a reformist organisation. Thus our comrades are actually building the C.C.Y.M. -- for Lazarus and his gang.

This tragi-comedy in York Township is indicative of what we can expect unless the inexcusable line followed by our comrades in the C.C.Y.M. is radically changed. If Ross Dawson had organised his group around a clear revolutionary program (as is the only way for a revolutionist to do), the C.C.Y.M. bureaucrats would not find it so easy to manoeuvre him out and keep his group for themselves. However, since Dawson had to hide his identity and speak the same language, or a similar language, as the bureaucrats, he wiped out all political distinction between himself and the bureaucrats, and the question of who would triumph now depended only on who would be more able to manoeuvre and cheat. Naturally the bureaucracy was a sure winner.

The lesson of this incident must engrave itself in bold lines upon the minds of our comrades. The revolutionist does not claim to hold an advantage over the reformist bureaucracy in the sphere of scheming and manoeuvring. The strength of the revolutionist lies in his principles. His hope of success rests on the correctness of his program...

(end of extract) (Ross Dowson was misspelled Ross Dawson in the original)

Rough Notes by Ross Dowson - names of majority of activists of SYL

(handwritten document)

Mar 1 1937

The purpose of this statement is to give the Workers Party of Canada a correct analysis of the work done by the Spartacus Youth League in the Cooperative Commonwealth Youth Movement in the past 8 months. We hope that it may be of value to that organization in making its decision concerning entry into the CCF.

The Spartacus Youth League decided to enter the CCYM in June on a vote of 17 for, 15 against. Work was not really started until the end of September. At the time of the decision there were about 32 members, today there are 29. Since the decision 12 have dropped away to be replaced by 9. Of the 32 who were active at the time of the decision 10 are now in the CCYM. Altogether there are 19 in the CCYM, the other 9 being new recruits put in the CCYM by us. Not one person has been gained by our entering the CCYM and putting our propaganda across. All the new recruits had been flirting around the movement for the past year or more. Of the 10 who are not members of the CCYM, 7 have been members of the executive of the SYL. Thus 7 who may be considered the most valuable members of the organization are doing no CCYM work.

The morale of the organization on the whole is very poor. When the question of working towards a split from the CCYM was brought up and voted upon, the vote was 8 for, 10 against. A question of such vital importance was considered important enough to vote on, only by 18 members. The attendance at city wide caucus meetings has been dropping off, and the unit caucus directors find it very difficult to call caucus meetings. Many of those who are in the CCYM have been attending the CCYM meetings very irregularly. At the last meeting of Beverley unit, where there is a membership list of 25, where we have a majority, and where there are 9 caucus members, only six people turned up, 4 of our caucus members and 2 contacts which they brought with them to hear a guest speaker. Observe the high morale of our comrades, observe just what the CCYM offers our comrades to turn into Trotskyites.

Our work has been confined entirely to the city of Toronto and district. In spite of the fact that the CYM exists in British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, etc., in spite of the fact that it exists in Peterborough, Hamilton, etc., there is no connection between them. Not only has our work been limited to Toronto & district but even there, we are working in only 4 units.

Bickford 2 East York 2 Grant 6 Beverley 9

In order to avoid ambiguity and to get a true picture of the SYL activity it is necessary to analyze unit by unit.

In East York there are 2 caucus members. To understand their work and the possibilities of its effectiveness one must know that East York is an organization of unemployed youth and has very loose connections with the CCYM central office. This unit owes about \$20 to the central office, was expelled last year for participating in May Day and allows Stalinites & Trotskyites in, in spite of the convention decision. The influence of Stalinism is very strong there; the leader of the unit being very close to them. In the last election for the executive, the Lovestonites who had for a long time held a position on that body failed to do so - the election was almost a complete victory for Stalinism. It is important to note that H. Kennedy is a member of that group but not of the CCYM and that he is not allowed to stand for an executive position. The left wingers are gradually being pushed out. Any work that our comrades do at the meetings is undone

during the week by the Stalinites, who have the advantage of living in East York & having close contact with the members of that unit during the week. Both of the comrades have unfortunately been unable to attend regularly lately. Comrade Kennedy has been unable to conduct the study class for the past 3 wks. The class in Canadian History which is not a burning issue and which in its early stages will not bring contacts much closer to Trotskyism than to the CCFism or Stalinism - or are we still after 8 months of work and expulsions integrating ourselves.

In Beverley unit there are 9 caucus members. One of the 9 still has no membership card from the central office and another has just been expelled by the provincial executive on his record of 2 years ago. The average attendance at that unit although it has a membership list of 25 is 10. There are only 4 members outside of our caucus who attend with any sign of regularity and these 4 with regard to potentialities are very poor. Our comrades in reality are talking to themselves. Even the 9 caucus members are irregular in attendance, at the last meeting only 4 turning up.

In Beckford unit there are 2 caucus members (...) the other was assigned to that unit on Feb. 28, 1937. Little is known about the situation there. Up until Feb. 28 our tactic was to smash that unit and we had long since withdrawn other caucus members because of the futility of working there.

In Grant unit there are 6 caucus members only 4 of which are able to or do attend regularly. The CCYM executive is so powerful in this unit that it is apparently necessary to sacrifice one of the 4 to them for informational purposes. A Study class on Canadian History which our comrades attempted to organize collapsed. One of the members of the former CYL who has applied for membership has so far been refused on the ground that he has Trotskyite connections. A short while ago our comrades brought up the question of a minimum wage for men. The vote was 6 against (4 caucus members + 2 others), 9 for. A simple trade union question such as this reveals the potentialities that this unit offers to the members of our caucus.

(earlier drafts attached ...)

Over 1 year ago today the Spartacus Youth League, the official group of the 4th international in Canada formally decided to dissolve and enter the Canadian Socialist movement the CYM as so many of its sister groups had done. By September as many comrades that ever were able to enter the CCYM were in. With almost 9 months of work behind let us pause. Where have we failed, what have we gained and what remains to be gained. Before entry the Spartacus Youth League had almost 40 members, holding regular meetings once a week in 2 districts of Toronto, regular study courses street meetings and a paper. After entry membership about 25, meetings about every 3 wks and a total lack of centralization, discipline & enthusiasm.

(groups of lists of names attached) (earlier drafts of notes attached ...)

...CCYM entry has exposed itself as totally false (...) There was no attempt on the part of the majority to build up Socialist Youth Clubs & thus to enter the CYM thru the back door. Why - because they themselves realized its futility. The whole theory of the Socialist Youth Clubs was an opportunistic trick used by the majority to save its own face. What tidbit will the majority (take to) the membership now. (...) Just what was the bait that made the membership of the SYL vote for CCYM entry. We were told that the CCYM was ... *(text incomplete - Ed.)* SYL yesterday & today. Analysis unit by unit. Future CCYM holds - false idea - Socialist Youth Club - perspective towards unity with Field group. Fraction work in CCYM. Today one year after the Spartacus Youth League decided to enter the CCYM to work therein as an illegal fraction. Let us pause here - has & will our work be fertile enough to warrant further entrenching. Today when the word of Trotskyism is no longer heard.

...sentiment in our ranks for an immediate split perspective, at the same time there is no capitulationist tendency in our ranks. We have no illusions about the limitations of work in a reformist organization, especially with regard to the time factor. Our international experience help(s) us in this regard.

The C.C.F., while outwardly stable, is composed largely of raw and uninitiated elements. While in Ontario its composition is overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois, there is a sufficiently large proletarian core to make our work worthwhile. Movements and splits have developed within its ranks regularly. These have been corrupted, (have) disintegrated and to some extent swallowed up by Stalinism, partly because of our own weakness, and also because of our isolation. We do not look forward to any great gains, but the entry experience will strengthen our movement greatly. Closer ties with the Commission will compensate in some measure for our young and inexperienced leadership.

Submitted by Executive Committee.

A DISCUSSION OF THE WAR CRISIS AND C.C.F. POLICY

It may be only a matter of months before the C.C.F. will be put to its most critical test by war. With what concrete policy are we to meet this test? This should be the key question discussed by the provincial convention. The fate of our whole civilization, the lives of millions, rest upon a clear, unequivocal answer to this question, by the socialists not only of Ontario, but of the world.

Today we are on the brink of the second world war, are indeed witnessing the preliminary massacres in Spain and in China. Central Europe is a powder keg. The armament budgets grow fantastically larger. Hitler's program of German expansion as expounded in Mein Kampf takes on grim reality. 14 million Austrians are absorbed into the German Fascist state. Poland, learning from Germany, immediately threatens Lithuania with absorption or invasion. Pacts and understandings criss-cross in the secret intrigues of diplomacy. In Central and Southern Europe, the suppressed minorities straitjacketed in artificial boundaries created by the Versailles Treaty, clamour for self-determination.

The Soviet Union, encircled by a ring of hostile steel, finds itself isolated more than ever before. The foreign policies of its totalitarian regime have only succeeded in weakening the international position of Russia. The Moscow Trials, the unceasing purges, the execution of the builders of the Russian Revolution and the leading men in every walk of life, including the general staff of the army, have emboldened its imperialist enemies. But despite the absolutist character of the regime, the socialized basis of economy established through the great October revolution of 1917, still remains. It is therefore the duty of all socialists to defend these gains against imperialist attack, while recognizing that the Stalinist leadership itself weakens and endangers this defence.

Once again workers are being called to lay down their lives for a cause which is not theirs, which brings only slaughter, destruction and mass misery in its wake. Under those circumstances, the responsibility laid on the leaders of the labor movement is tremendous. The working class must have a party which will fight the war with deeds, not merely with words: -- a party which will make war forever impossible by destroying the system which breeds it.

In the tragic years of 1914-1918, the Socialists of the world, with the exception of a scattered handful of Internationalists, failed miserably to meet their responsibility and promises. Instead, they fell prey to jingoism, called off the struggle against the capitalist system, and lined up solidly behind their respective imperialist governments. However, these people had the slight merit, if you will, of supporting the war only after it began. Prior to its outbreak, they had been ardent pacifists, had even boldly threatened to call general strikes if war were declared.

What shall we think then of the political programs of the Second and Third Internationals today, who lack even this grace?

By espousing Collective Security, Popular and National Fronts, they have indicated their policy of union with the capitalist class even before the outbreak of general war. British and French Labor parties are frankly imperialist and patriotic, prepared to participate in National Governments to conduct war for "collective security". Trade Union leaders are already conferring with government spokesmen, preparing to place industry at the disposal of the General Staffs of the armies. The French Stalinists have repeatedly voted war credits for the French army. American Stalinists ardently support Roosevelt's billion dollar armament program, shoved through at the expense of relief and social services. Moreover, they fought bitterly the Ludlow amendment to the constitution which would have forced the president to call a national referendum, before declaring war. Here in Canada, the Stalinists call ceaselessly upon the government to enter into an alliance again in the name of collective security. Small wonder that the imperialists plunge headlong into the armament race, intrigue and jockey for favorable alignments in the war, with little fear of being embarrassed by civil strife at home!

We socialists in the C.C.F., who pay more than lip service to workers internationalism, who are undying enemies of world capitalism, must draw the true lessons from these events. Learning from them how NOT to fight war, we will then be able to take up the responsibility entrusted to us, of leading the struggle through to the establishment of socialism.

What are the real causes of imperialist war? They lie in the very nature of the capitalist system. Whether Fascist or democratic, because of its profit driven planless economy, every capitalist state becomes cramped within its obsolete national boundaries. It must seek abroad for colonies, markets, sources of cheap raw materials, and spheres of influence for capitalist investments, in order to live and continue to compete in the world market, even at the expense of war. WAR IS THUS THE LOGICAL CONTINUATION, BY OTHER, MORE VIOLENT MEANS, OF THE PEACE-TIME POLICIES OF CAPITALISM.

Today capitalism is in a state of general crisis and decay. There are no new worlds for it to conquer, only redivision of the old, by machine-gun and bomb. That is why any war undertaken by the great powers today is a reactionary war, counter to the interests of the masses ♦ whatever the political forms of the warring countries, whatever the immediate cause. For the motives of the belligerents are the same on both sides ♦ the drive for profits and for economic power. That is why it is so dangerously misleading to attempt to differentiate between aggressor and non-aggressor nations. When all persist in holding flaming torches to the powder-barrel, who can say that only one is responsible for the explosion? And that is why it is criminal to seek to choose between democratic peace-loving and Fascist war-hungry capitalism. For the despoiled victim, there can be nothing to choose between the robbers who have and the robbers who have not. As for democracy, it is a luxury that is lightly dispensed with by the ruling classes in times of crisis. With the declaration of war will come once more the complete extinction of the democratic rights of free speech, press and assembly in England, France and America, and the institution of military dictatorships, the plans for which have already been drawn in detail.

Can all this be prevented by the methods of pacifism, conscientious objection, refusal to fight? No • these are the blind romantic illusions of the ostrich who sticks his head in the sand. In this day of conscription, concentration camps, and high-pressure salesmanship through screen, radio, press, church and school • all of which are controlled by the capitalist class and left un-touched by the program of the pacifists • we observe a sad tendency for most of today's pacifist objectors to become tomorrow's best patriots. By ignoring the real causes of war, and diverting popular attention from really effective means of combating it, pacifism is as dangerous as it is futile. It performs a valuable service to those who wish to keep the people ignorant.

Similar arguments hold against the isolationists who wish to keep Canada Out of War. They fail to recognize how inextricably a part we are of world economy, incapable of living to ourselves and of remaining unaffected by trends and events abroad. When war breaks out Canada cannot remain aloof any more than she did in the last war. The pressure of several billion dollars worth of British and American capital invested here will see to that, not to mention native enterprise. More appeals to the government to stay out of war is about as effective as an appeal to the self-restraint of a crazed drug addict. Capitalism, likewise, cannot help itself. Equally with the pacifists, the isolationists serve the war-makers by concealing the true state of affairs and by teaching the people to rely on the government rather than on their own organization and strength.

While we socialists are unalterably opposed to all wars of imperialism, democratic or fascist, at the same time we are duty bound to materially support all struggle and wars of a progressive character, e.g., the present war of Chinese independence against Japanese imperialism and the war against Franco, however critical our socialist approach must be to the shortcomings and mistakes of their leadership. Independent class struggle action is a tremendous step forward to the real struggle against war, which can only be the overthrow of the system which breeds it. The C.C.F. must organize and support such action with all sections of the labor movement. In the present period the following slogans can act as a rallying cry for all the genuine opponents of war:

NOT A CENT FOR WAR -- USE THE CANADIAN WAR BUDGET FOR SOCIAL SERVICES

STRIKE TO STOP SHIPMENTS TO JAPAN

WORKERS BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS

ARMS AND MUNITIONS FOR CHINA

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM – WHETHER DEMOCRATIC OR FASCIST

COLLECTIVE SECURITY MEANS COLLECTIVE WAR

FIGHT CHECKS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

MEET THE FASCIST MOVEMENT WITH WORKERS DEFENCE ORGANIZATIONS

WORKERS! FARMERS! RELY ON YOUR INDEPENDENT CLASS ORGANIZATIONS

NO COLLABORATION WITH THE CAPITALISTS AND THEIR GOVERNMENT

THE MAIN ENEMY IS IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY

Issued by Socialist Policy Group --April 15, 1938

Chairman; Jas. Gill, 305 High Park Ave., Toronto; Junc. 1946.*

Secretary: David Easton, 468 Markham St., Toronto; Lom. 2448.*

(FOR C.C.F. MEMBERS ONLY)

(* *phone numbers -ed.*)

1934

The
**FOUNDING
CONFERENCE**
of the
**FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL**
(World Party of the Socialist Revolution)

Program and Resolutions

Murray Lowson
Please Return

Published by the
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
of the United States
(Section of the Fourth International)
116 University Place, New York

Resolution On the Work of the Canadian Section

1. The All-America and Pacific Pre-Conference, having heard the report of the Canadian delegates, welcomes the successful fusion of the majority comrades with the active nucleus of the minority, on the basis of the program of action agreed upon during the Chicago Convention.

2. The Pre-Conference endorses the action taken by the Canadian comrades in forming an open Socialist Policy Group in the C.C.F. on the basis of a declaration on the war question.

3. The Pre-Conference, after discussion with the Canadian delegates, suggests the following plan of action for the immediate future:

(a) The Canadian comrades should continue to concentrate their main efforts on work within the C.C.F., with a view to climaxing their activities by a complete programmatic and political fight at or around the national Fall convention of the C.C.F., with a perspective of completing the experience within this declining reformist organization and re-establishing the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

The declining membership and activity of the C.C.F. has increased the specific weight of the petty bourgeois elements and the corresponding entrenchment of a right-wing bureaucracy. While our general line is oriented toward an early establishment of an independent Canadian section of the Fourth International, this does not preclude the possibility of continued concerted work in the C.C.F., in provinces where the objective conditions are more favorable than in Ontario.

(b) The comrades should endeavor to strengthen further our own fraction within the C.C.F. and the Group by systematic education and concerted and disciplined action in every field of their activity. The Socialist Policy Group will undoubtedly attract some confused centrist elements who, in a later stage, especially at the moment of split, may oppose our program. Consequently it is of great importance to combine educative work upon our new recruits with revolutionary vigilance against centrism.

(c) The comrades should make immediate attempts to extend the Socialist Policy Group into a national tendency within the C.C.F., by establishing the cooperation of our comrades in Vancouver, Winnipeg and elsewhere.

(d) The comrades should elaborate the political documents of the S.P.G. so as to create a thorough line of demarcation between the reformists, the centrists, and themselves on every important national and international problem.

(e) The Conference expresses the firm belief that this activity should be expressed through a regular mimeographed or printed organ (appearing weekly or fortnightly) rather than through casual bulletins. A name should be chosen for the organ which can also be used later for the organ of an independent organization, so as to continue the tradition of our revolutionary fight within the C.C.F. The Vancouver comrades should be invited to collaborate in the creation of such an organ.

(f) In view of a possible premature organizational attack by the C.C.F. bureaucracy, our comrades should be ready to answer every organizational maneuver by energetic politicizing of the issues in order that a full principled record of our position may be established. The experience of our French, Belgian and American comrades can be studied in this connection.

4. It is most likely that the re-establishment of our comrades in an independent organization will not occur with sufficient forces to make possible the immediate creation of a party, but rather only a broadened propaganda group. Preparatory steps for the new activity of this group should be taken even now.

(a) By systematizing and extending our trade union work, to be carried out with firm democratic centralism and comradely collaboration between the executive and the trade-union activists.

(b) In view of the existing ferment within the Stalinist ranks, efforts should be made to establish contacts within their organization for the purposes of information and, if possible, organizational fraction work. The new organ of the S.P.G. should carry on a steady and vigorous campaign against Stalinism both as it appears within the C.C.F. and without. The possibilities of public meetings against the Stalinists should also be considered, in exploiting the "democracy" of the C.C.F. constitution to its absolute limits.

(c) Concerning the Field group, the Pre-Conference considers that any political negotiations with this group should take place only on the basis of an uncompromising stand on the

principles and platform of the Fourth International. While our political discussions with the C.C.F. members need be conducted in a spirit of patient education, the purpose of any action concerning the fossilized sectarian Field group should be that of splitting away progressive elements and rendering the group powerless. The progress of our work within the C.C.F., and the subsequent re-establishment of an independent group, together with the formal foundation of the Fourth International at the coming European conference, will establish our comrades on firm ground for gaining any progressive elements in the Field group through an energetic political attack against their sterility and international isolation. While the necessity of occasional united front action is not precluded, it should not be extended to a degree where the leadership of this stagnating group gains fictitious prestige.

5. Concerning the possible development of the Labor Relations Association, the Pre-Conference suggests that further information be prepared and that discussions be held in Canada as well as in New York, so that a definite position may be taken. The same procedure should be followed in estimating the possibilities of applying to Canadian conditions a program of action arising out of the international thesis (Death Agony of Capitalism) adopted by the American section at its last (April) National Committee plenum.

SOCIALIST ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN of SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE of CANADA

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PROGRAM OF ACTION

What the Socialist Workers' League means by Socialist Action in Canada.

1 Need for Action

The times are ripe for socialism.

In Canada, as everywhere, capitalism has created a swamp and got itself permanently stuck in it. Our million workless can get no work, and the whole of the working masses are oppressed with increasing poverty, undernourishment and sickness, as wages are forced down and prices rise.

Capitalists answer depression only with repression. Duplessis outlaws the C.I.O., and persecutes any who are even suspected of "believing" in socialism; the so-called democratic rights of workers to hold meetings, organize unions of their own choice, speak freely, publish worker papers, are denied them in Quebec, and to some extent throughout the whole of Canada.

At the same time, our boss politicians prepare to drag us at the tail of the British Empire into another world war. The King government refuses needed expenditures for national relief, the unemployed, housing, health, etc.—but it has plenty for war budgets. A new mass slaughter seems now to be only a few months away—and King's acquiescence in Chamberlain's policies has already committed Canadians to being slaughtered in it.

2 Failure of CCF and CP

Yet the Canadian masses remain outside the ranks of socialism. Why? Why do fascist forces flourish in Quebec and extend themselves over Canada while the C.C.F. dwindles? Why do pauperized prairie farmers still vote capitalist parties into power or allow themselves to be fooled by the nonsense of Social Credit?

It is because Canadian socialists have not learned how to speak to workers and farmers, how to create a bridge of action between the advanced crisis of capitalism and the backward political knowledge of the masses in this country.

The workers and farmers desperate-

ly need the necessities of life; they need markets for what they produce, and guaranteed incomes by which they can buy what they need. In 1939 these things can be secured only by a struggle against capitalism itself; that is, the workers must organize not only to fight for this and that immediate issue, for the right to organize into a union here, to strike there; they must make these immediate struggles the basis for a permanent fighting socialist body. None of the existing parties proposing to lead the working class to socialism is trying to do this.

The "Communist" Party has long since ceased to be communist and is

now, in its politics scarcely distinguishable from the C.C.F. The C.C.F. is openly a parliamentary reformist

party; the C.P. still plays on its revolutionary and international past, but in reality it too is reformist and social-patriotic. Both these parties are non-militant; both hunt out and expel any revolutionaries from their ranks. Both are controlled by bureaucrats. The C.P. leaders are Stalin's yes-men in Canada. They take the line from Moscow and that line is laid down according to whatever manoeuvres Stalin is using at the moment in his attempt to make the U.S.S.R. a respectable ally of "democratic" capitalist countries. At the moment, according to the C.P., the King government is "democratic" and "peace-loving" and should therefore be supported even at the cost of entry into another world war. The leaders stand ready to act as patriotic recruiting-sergeants and stoolpigeons for capitalism in the approaching war.

3. Need for a Revolutionary Party

Their quarrel with the C.C.F. is therefore only a quarrel between rivals for the same job—the job of tricking workers into fighting for the bosses. The C.C.F. leaders are busy sowing illusions that socialism will be achieved without a struggle against the owning class. The C.C.F. and the C.P. simply contend for the honor of being the third party of capitalism.

They cannot advance a real fighting action program such as is needed to rally the suffering masses around the socialist banner. The party of socialism continued on page four

WHAT SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE MEANS

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ism is still to be formed in this country.

But the basis for such a party already exists.

For more than ten years a group of fighting socialists has been carrying on the traditions of the international working class movement. Militant leaders of the original C.P. of C., who were expelled because they upheld Trotsky in his fight for the principles of Lenin against Stalinist distortions, have been joined by others repelled by both the C.P. and the C.C.F. as the treacherous role of these parties has become more and more evident. Banded together in a Socialist Workers' League, with a membership and influence reaching across Canada, we here present our program and call upon all militant workers, organized and unorganized, to break boldly with the C.C.F. and C.P. and reformism in general and join in the task of building a true working class socialist party in Canada.

4. Break With The British Empire.

There is much talk at present of the need to "reform" the relations between the Dominion and the Provinces. George McCullagh, reactionary publisher of a millionaire's sheet, proposes doing away with provincial government. Under the existing system this would simply mean (1) the loss by French-Canadians of such minority rights as they have; (2) a tighter grip of big-business over the impoverished prairies and maritimes. On the other hand, the present exaggerated powers of the provinces—given them by the B.N.A. act—are being used by Herburn and Duplessis to block all moves towards national legislation for relief and unemployment. Such schemes would increase the taxes of their big business supporters. But eastern big-business dominates also the federal Conservative and Liberal Parties, and these will never introduce adequate national relief measures even if they could. Bennett passed his "new deal" knowing that the Privy Council in England could and would declare it beyond his powers.

To agitate therefore, as the C.C.F.

does, simply for an abolition of appeal to the Privy Council is sowing the illusion that King or Manion would relieve poverty and unemployment if they were given more power. Only a militant worker-farmer party can force through real relief measures. Naturally such a government would have to repudiate the legal powers of English lawyers to interfere in Canada's legislation.

But the masses must put in a government which will completely and finally break with the British Empire. The governor-general must go. He is a fancy and useless expenditure. He is an officer appointed by British Imperialism with emergency powers to suspend the Canadian Parliament and rule solely with the aid of the capitalist Canadian premier and his cabinet. This "governor-general-in-council" joker legalized Canada's entry into the last war before any Parliamentary vote, and it is ready to repeat the trick. More important than these constitutional ties, however, is the plain fact that Chamberlain and the British army staff have made military alliances with France and the United States on the basis of empire participation in any war they start. This means that Canada is at war once Chamberlain is. Therefore the Canadian masses through a workers and farmers govt. must not merely repudiate the Privy Council and dismiss the Governor-General and his useless lieutenant-governors, but must wrest complete independence—legal and political—from the British Empire.

5. Against Imperialist War; For Socialist Defense.

So long as we have a capitalist government in Canada, so long will we be tied to one imperialist power or another. This means that any war into which that government drags us will be a war in which Canadian workers and farmers will gain nothing and lose everything. We therefore condemn C.C.F. and C.P.

support of "collective security" as a treacherous device to suck the Canadian masses into a war only to "secure" one group of capitalist nations against the competition of another group. The fact that Britain is a "democracy" is not decisive; England's capitalist democracy exists only on the basis of its own murderous dictatorship over millions in India and Africa, and it is a democracy which will be discarded, as in 1914, as soon as war is declared. If the British "homeland" is invaded, British workers have nothing to gain in defending it until first they establish their own revolutionary workers' government. And until they do that, the Canadian masses have nothing to gain by fighting for England.

We declare our opposition to all imperialist wars. We advocate workers' action—strike to prevent shipment of war materials from Canada to capitalist powers as to Japan today. Boycotting silk stockings is of minor importance and effectiveness; militant socialists, unlike the C.C.F. and the C.P., turn first to the workers in trade unions who have the power to prevent the handling, loading and shipping to Japan of such vital war commodities as nickel, of which Japan draws almost her entire supply from Canada.

We stand too against the "national defense" program, in reality an armament program of the King government. Against whom are we defending ourselves, the polar bears? Even in the extremely unlikely event of Canada being attacked if she declared her neutrality in a world war, Roosevelt has made it obvious that U.S. imperialism will "defend" Canada. Such a defense means of course increased economic servitude of Canada to the U.S. and perhaps annexation. But the only way to guarantee that this will not happen is for the American workers to take power in their own country. The Socialist Workers League em-

BY REAL SOCIALIST ACTION

phasizes the common destiny of the international working class and particularly of the Canadian and American working class. There is need for common labor organizations in both countries, a strengthening of the rank-and-file trade union ties, and the eventual perspective of proletarian rule in a United Socialist States of America. Only such a government can defend the interests of the masses.

Against pacifism we stand as uncompromisingly as against imperialism. The workers must prepare themselves to fight for power and to fight to maintain their own government against attack from without as well as from within. But to guarantee that the defense will be in the interests of the toilers it must also be in their hands. The C.C.F. and C.P. talk vaguely of "government control" of war industries. We stand for **WORKERS CONTROL**. We propose that the workers take over the armament factories, the nickel and copper mines, and run them so that no supplies will go abroad to feed imperialist wars, so that supplies may be sent instead to support the progressive struggle of the exploited colonials and of the Chinese masses, and so that Canadian workers may be in the position to assist the Russian workers' state when it is attacked. This, and not marching against German workers in an imperialist army "allied" to Russia, is the way for workers in a capitalist country to aid the U.S.S.R.

We advocate therefore:—

Workers Stoppage of Supplies to Japanese Imperialism.
Transference Of The Canadian War Budget To Public Works.
Not One Man, Not One Cent, For The Bosses.
Workers' Control Of War Industries.
Publication and Repudiation of All Canadian Military Commitments To Britain Or Other Imperialist Powers.
A United Socialist States of America
—For The Defense Of The U.S.S.R. and World Socialism.

6. Workers' Control, Not Capitalist "Nationalization"

Our answer to the agitation for railroad unification, which is at present only a move by the C.P.R. to increase its profits, is **EXPROPRIATION** of the private interests and administration under workers' control. Only in this way can the lay-offs of thousands be prevented, wage rates protected, shorter hours instituted and the railroads operated without the piling up of public debts to pay high interest to wealthy bondholders. Expropriation does not mean complete confiscation; any aged or infirm who now depend for a living upon railroad bonds can be guaranteed protection under federal old age and sickness benefits. If any able-bodied stockholders and high-salaried officials can offer genuine technical assistance they may do so—at trade-union rates. What is intended is not "indemnification" on the one hand or mere vengeance on the other, but worker's control, elimination of super-profits to the few, of ruinous freight rates to the farmer and the passing of rich natural resources into private hands. Railway rates will be set not by St. James Street but by joint councils of the railway unions, farmers' and other primary producers' organizations.

As with the railroad problem, so with the other glaring examples of paralysis in our economy, only a bold program of **WORKERS CONTROL** can meet the immediate needs of the masses and clear the road for socialism. The C.C.F. Manifesto talks vaguely of "planning commissions" and "economic advisory boards ... free from day to day political interference". This is not the language of class-conscious socialists. Sound planning can be based only on the knowledge the workers themselves provide in their own factory committees and it can be put into practice only by a workers' socialist government.

The Hydro Enquiry has heard evidence pointing to the fact that although in theory the Ontario Hydro System is a publicly owned institution, it has been used deliberately in the interests of the power barons of

St. James Street. Government ownership means capitalist control; workers' ownership means what it says. The Socialist Workers' League advocates **WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE POWER INDUSTRY**.

Only the toilers can put an end to the milking of Canadian economy by the railroad and power barons and only by a general revolutionary upsurge can they complete the expropriation of the capitalists. In preparation for the solving of this problem we place the following transitional demands on the order of the day:

A Unified Railway Under Workers' Management.
Workers' Control Of The Power Industry.

7. The Farmers

The debt-ridden farmer and the miserably-paid hired man have not yet generally been drawn from the mirage of Social Credit or from panicky dependence on the old-line capitalist parties. The C.C.F. and the C.P. have failed to organize the

farmers because they have not proposed measures essentially different from those of the capitalist parties. Like them they talk about credit reform, banking control, rotating loans, etc. and sow illusions that "nationalization" or "public ownership" banks will in itself solve the financial problems of the farmers.

For the farmers there is no independent road to freedom from mortgage sharks, bank interest, exorbitant machine prices and freight rates. These are evils of capitalism which only a socialist state can finally abolish. Protective tariff legislation, which plays off the farmer against the worker, or vice versa and injures both as consumers, must be opposed. Only a strong working-class can wrest the railroads and banks from private capital and operate them for the benefit of the toilers on the farms and in the cities alike. The proletariat is, even in Canada, larger and of course more concentrated and more strategically placed than the farmers. Nevertheless the Canadian industrial worker is in need of unity with the poor farmer. How are the

two to be brought into one coherent group?

First steps can be made through joint activity of the existing farm organizations, the selling cooperatives, etc., with trade unions, consumers' cooperatives, etc. in the city. Agreements for an upward sliding wage scale, for example, should be drawn up with the aid of farmer bodies. Such cooperative plans can then be extended into a plan for the production of agricultural machinery at cost. Such a plan must involve, (a) workers' control of agricultural machine factories (b) workers control of railroads (c) sale and shipment of machines to the farms at cost. In return the farmers receiving such machinery would agree to supply their farm products at cost to the trades unions and consumers cooperatives. By such methods the necessary alliance between the working farmer and the town worker can be inaugurated, and the way opened for joint political as well as economic action. Such progress should not stop short of joint programs of action but go on to the creation of a revolutionary farmer-labor party, and government.

The practical participation of the exploited farmers in the control of different fields of economy will allow them to decide for themselves how quickly, to what extent and by what methods the land under their control should be socialized. The immediate task is not complete confiscation of farm lands but the repudiation of farm indebtedness, and the rescuing of land from the banks and mortgage companies and monopoly interests.

**For Joint Price Committees Of City Workers and Working Farmers,
Farm Machines and Freightage At Cost By Workers Control,
Farm Products At Cost To Workers By Farmer Control,
For A Militant Farmer-Labor Party.**

8. Federal Work For The Workless, At Trade Union Rates.

The C.C.F. and the C.P. and other alleged worker parties in Canada have all failed to organize any significant proportion of the one million Canadian unemployed. What little groups have been formed have not been tied in with the trade unions. The unemployed need not only work, but work at union rates, and this provision is equally necessary for the protection of the union worker him-

self. To provide work for all, there must also be sweeping reductions in the hours of work, without reductions in pay. The six-hour day and the five-day week are elementary slogans for which we fight.

In addition we agitate for a federal public works program coupled with a **SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS**. All the work in hand should be divided among the available workers. Canada can provide not only more work but work for all, and the more who work the less each will need to work. By such agitation too, the worker and the workless will be drawn together into a single group united in their fight for employment and for decent living standards.

**Create Jobs By Reducing Work Hours
Cut Hours — Not Wages.
\$100 Million Federal Work Programs
At Union Rates.
For The Union Of Worker and Workless.**

9. The Fight For Better Living Standards.

Except in isolated sectors both the C.P. and the C.C.F. have also failed to win the trade union movement to socialist policies. This is not because the workers are not in need of socialism. It is because these parties can give no militant lead to the unions. C.P. and C.C.F. leaders solidarize themselves with the T.U. bureaucracies, instead of giving fighting support to the T.U. rank and file.

The immediate need of organized labor is protection of its existing standards in a period of growing reaction. Such anti-labor blows as the Padlock Law can not be fought with legalistic Civil Liberties Unions but only with the organized strength of the workers themselves. Only the threat of extensive strikes in Quebec will now defeat the Padlock Law. The Socialist Workers League requires its members wherever possible, to be active militants in the T.U.'s, opposing the compromise policies of the bureaucratic leaders in existing national and international unions.

Threatening the standards of the workers is the continued rise in prices. Fixed wage-scales are useless

against sky-rocketing living costs. The Socialist Workers' League agitates in the trade unions for agreements based on a **SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES**. All collective agreements should, without allowing for decreases, insure automatic wage increases with each monthly rise in the price of consumers' goods. The

amount of increase would be determined not by the bosses, but by committees of workers meeting with consumers' and farmers' cooperatives.

Only 20 per cent of the Canadian workers are now in trade unions and these are divided against each other. Our League works actively and unceasingly for trade union unity—not simply as such, but on the basis of rank and file control and progressive politics. We welcome the formation of permanent factory committees, joint committees between different unions in the same area, and we advocate the extension of such committees (which the workers form spontaneously in times of stress) into permanent national councils which can serve as the bridge to trade union fusion. The creation of such councils would greatly facilitate also organization of the unemployed with the employed.

**Rally Trade Union Strength To The
Defense Of Civil Liberties.
Strike Against Padlock Laws.
Raise Wages To Meet Rising Prices.
For Joint Trade Union Councils,
Toward Trade Union Unity.**

10. How To Make Demands "Realizable"

The immediate source of income for works programs, for increased old age and mothers' pensions, unemployment and sickness insurance, crop insurance, and the like, must be direct taxation of the rich. To the King Government's pretense that there is no money obtainable to meet the needs of the masses, the workers must reply with a demand for the expropriation of the millionaires, the Fifty Big Shots of Canadian capital.

Under the existing situation, small factory owners, etc., may put forward their income figures or their account ledgers to prove that they can provide no higher wages. The workers can answer such arguments only with the logic of socialism: either run your business at T.U. wages and pay out from your profits to finance public make-work schemes or get out of business. If the capitalists cannot make money, turn the factories over to the workers; we will run them without the necessity to pay dividends to private "owners."

"Realizability" or "unrealizability" of such a program is, in the given instance, a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the class struggle. By means of struggle, no matter what its im-

mediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery. The socialist state alone can permanently satisfy the progressive desires of the workers.

**Expropriate The 50 Big Shots.
Bosses: Pay T.U. Rates Or Give
Us Your Factories.**

11. How To Fight Fascism.

The struggle to preserve and better the living standards of the Canadian toilers means the sharpening of the methods of counter-attack on the part of the bosses and their politicians. They are no longer satisfied with the official army and militia. Today, Arcand drills his hooligans. Other fascist scum follow suit. Governments nod approval. Hepburn retains his own special provincial array of strikebreakers and joins with others in creating secret "anti-sabotage" squads. The whole boss class prepares to use "extra-legal" methods of suppression.

The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial offices, or in the whining complaints of Leagues for Peace and Democracy. The fight against fascism starts in the factory—and ends in the street. It is a struggle that can not be conducted entirely within the framework of trade unions and political parties. Only workers defense guards, who feel the support of tens of thousands of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands.

The picket lines of strikes are the first gatherings of the proletarian army. They must become representative of all organized labor. Strike defense committees must be built and maintained after the strike, and incorporated in a nation wide system of workers defense guards.

Their strength should be increased by party defense squads; the Socialist Workers' League calls on the C.C.F. and the C.P. and all other working class organizations to join with it in the building of these vital organs of struggle. Marching side by side, the squads of each union and party can jointly defend the workers' press, their meetings and picket lines. There must be no repetition of Stratford and Sarnia thuggery.

**Meet The Fascists Blow For Blow.
Make Picket Defenses Permanent.
For Every Workers Organization—A
Defense Guard.**

**Joint Defense Committees.
Towards A Workers National Guard.**

12. For An Independent Farmer-Labor Party.

The immediate action program which we here present is, as can be seen, a class-struggle program, not a program of parliamentary reform. But it is a program of transitional demands designed to lead the toilers out of the blind-alleys of reformism and the bogs of inactivity onto the revolutionary road. Such a program involves a political fight as part of the general struggle against capitalism.
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Program of Action

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ism, and so the organization of a fighting political party of the toilers. The Socialist Workers League is not yet that party, but it is the vanguard of those who will build it. We declare the necessity for a united class-struggle party of workers and poor farmers in this country. We link up such questions as expropriation with the question of the seizure of power. Only the general revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat can complete the expropriation of the capitalists, in Canada as elsewhere. But by fighting for immediate demands in this period of growing reaction we prepare the proletariat for its ultimate tasks. Our program of transitional demands is a program of preparation for the final struggle, and that program involves the building of a mass party of class struggle.

The perspective of a government by such a party, a militant farmer-labor party, is also part of the transitional struggle, leading on to the dictatorship of the proletariat for the establishment of socialism.

For A Militant Action Program.

**For A Militant Party Of The
Canadian Toilers.**

**For An Independent Farmer-Labor
Government.**

"A first print dress...."

For southern or cruise wear, it's completely devastating in a bi-color effect in rayon crepe in bisque shade with the yoke and sleeves of luggage-tan". (Fashion column, Daily Clarion, Mar. 11, 1939).

Just the thing for an anti-fascist rally in Bermuda or a hunger march along Palm Beach,

BUILD THE ANTI-WAR PARTY

WORKERS OF CANADA! TODAY, AS IN 1914, YOU ARE BEING BETRAYED INTO WAR!

The Dominion Committee of the Canadian Communist Party (Clarion, Aug. 26)

LIES when it says this will be "a just war... a war in defense of democracy".

The **TRUTH** is that the imperialist bosses of Britain and France want to protect their profitable colonies by crushing their German-Italian rivals now.

The **TRUTH** is that "democracy" has never existed in their colonies and **NO LONGER EXISTS IN BRITAIN OR FRANCE.**

The Clarion editor (Aug. 26)

BETRAYS when he asks you to "defend the independence of Poland and preserve peace".

The **TRUTH** is that the Polish masses have no independence. They are ruled by reactionary landlords and army officers who have massacred Jews, outlawed the Communist Party, and deprived the millions of Ukrainians and other minorities of democratic rights.

The **TRUTH** is that only hypocrites talk of "preserving" peace by making war.

The Communist Party leadership

LIES when it says "the national security and territorial safety of Canada is imperilled" —

The **TRUTH** is that the Tim Bucks are aiding the Colonel Drews in fomenting a war hysteria —

CONFUSES when it blames Chamberlain for encouraging Hitler.

The **TRUTH** is that **IT WAS STALIN WHO HASTENED THE CRISIS BY GIVING HITLER THE GO-AHEAD SIGNAL —**

CONCEALS when it says the Stalin-Hitler deals are simple non-aggression and trade pacts.

The **TRUTH** is that Russia is committed to supplying Hitler with materials and **REFUSING MATERIALS TO POLAND** when war comes between them. Read article 2 of the "non-aggression pact (not printed in the Clarion).

The **TRUTH** is that **STALIN** has sabotaged his own fake "peace front" with the "democratic peace-loving countries".

The **TRUTH** is that **TROTSKY WAS RIGHT** when last October he predicted a treacherous deal between the Kremlin bureaucracy and the Nazis.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE

The Third International is dead. In Canada its leaders join with CCF leaders in preparing for enlistment in the army of the bosses.

BUT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL LIVES. Its Canadian section, The Socialist Workers League, calls for **ENLISTMENT IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKERS IN RESISTANCE** to the coming war.

The CP's Dominion Committee demands that King declare for war without waiting for Parliament. We stand for strike, boycott and other forms of organized independent working-class resistance to Canadian participation in the war.

We stand for the continued struggle to overthrow capitalism, against the main enemy, our own capitalists.

We stand for solidarity with the workers of Germany and Italy, against their fascist overlords. We declare that they will be aided in overthrowing their own governments by our fight here at home. We can not make socialists of them by shooting them.

CANADIAN WORKERS EVERYWHERE! JOIN WITH US IN BUILDING THE CANADIAN ANTI-WAR PARTY!

ONLY SOCIALISM CAN END WAR!

THE FIGHT FOR WORKING CLASS FREEDOM, IS THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!

ISSUED BY THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE
CANADIAN SEC. OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

May 1941

INTERNAL BULLETIN NO. 1

ISSUED MAY 1941 BY THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE OF CANADA
CANADIAN SECTION OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

RD thinks he wrote this after the
defection of Stubbs and Easton

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"RD thinks he wrote (this) after the
defection of Stubbs and Easton"

1941-May2

THE NEW TASK—

FROM AN EDUCATIONAL SECT TO A PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT.....

The past year has been one of great difficulty for our organization. Not only did we suffer the loss of our teacher and comrade LEON TROTSKY but immediately after the outbreak of war, contact with our western groups ceased and while actual defections in the league were few, none the less, our organization, particularly in the top committees, was paralyzed for almost 9 months with no press or directives and but few group meetings. Only through the intense interest of several comrades was the league able to rally together again.

There has been in the past a definite tendency to gloss over many of our more intense internal difficulties; to smooth over important issues—this can no longer be tolerated. The past year of inactivity points to the vital necessity of coming to grips with our problems—the most alarming, the most vital to the continued existence and expansion of our group, is our social composition.

The instability of our group, the ebb and flow of its energies, is due by and large to its social composition. The Canadian section of the 4th International in spite of its program has never integrated itself in the working class organizations. This has been due to some extent to persecution by the Stalinists, Social Democrats and Bourgeoisie. None the less little has been done, particularly in the past four years to break away from a study class atmosphere and to proletarianize the league. Today we are paying the price. While the number of strikes and lookouts soars higher, while the Canadian trade unions plunge into new fields, and while capitalism both democratic and fascist reels in agony and the decay of her organisms is laid open to become a foul stench in the nostrils of the world—we who bear the responsibility for the construction of the new world impotently stand by on the side lines.

With the public activities of a study group; street corner meetings, paper distribution, open forums, cut off by the Defence of Canada Regulations we find our hands tied and our discussions on the fine points of social science seem weak stuff as the cost of living rises rapidly, youth is conscripted into the army, and the most elementary democratic rights slide by the board.

How can we break from our isolation? How can we utilize our program—a program hammered out under the fires of the Commune and the Russian Revolution, tested under the flames that consume Germany, China, Spain? How can we bring that program to the Canadian workers? Not by setting ourselves up as advisors or educators of the workers, not as historians or social theorists, but as workers ourselves—as one of them, one who fights in their fights, whose life is their life. The problems of the nature of the Russian state, dialectics, etc. interest ourselves, and the Canadian workers all the more so, only in so far as they are related to our lives, our struggles.

We who understand - these problems and the value of the understanding of them must make them live issues to the workers, the only class which can be truly progressive and the class on which we must build our base. Where are the workers? In the factories, organized and unorganized. In the trade unions, craft and industrial. There must we be.

As the war becomes prolonged the pressure of bourgeois propaganda becomes more severe. Those comrades who are not in working class surroundings, those comrades whose socialism is only a small part of their everyday life, an idle intellectual enjoyment, a Sunday evening pastime, are most subject to this intense pressure. Apathy and cynicism are reflections of this pressure in our organization. Some of our groups are already dangerously infected with these germs. In order to defend ourselves, in order to maintain the organization even as it now stands, numerically small, we must take immediate steps to proletarianize our ranks. Small businessmen, office workers, clerks, due to the social atmosphere that they breathe are the groups most subject to this alien class pressure—the workers in the factories the least.

To proletarianize the league has, as has been pointed out, two purposes: 1--to enable us to spread our ideas more effectively among the workers, 2--in order to counteract bourgeois propaganda on our membership, but there is also a third—in order to protect our ranks from police terrorism. Empowered by the so-called Defence of Canada Regulations the police can and do intern anyone they see fit. This threat hangs over the heads of nearly all our comrades. Our best defence is to be deep in the Canadian labor movement. Our contacts being workers, with interests parallel to our own, even though they perhaps disagree with our ideas will recognize their solidarity with us, thus the possibility of being informed on becomes less and the police, because of the danger of repercussions will be more hesitant to use their powers. And if we are faced with internment the mask of bourgeois democracy is wrenched off to hundreds of workers.

The fact that our group has remained numerically stable since the outbreak of war is not in many cases a sign of our ideological unity. The sharpening of the world crisis caused in our American movement a split which separated the proletarian core from the talk-fest, do-nothing petit-bourgeois fringe. The Canadian movement is likewise not without petit-bourgeois elements, but every comrade must see to it that this sentiment, that this attitude towards our movement is wiped out—this can be done most effectively by an active program of proletarianization. Comrades can no longer be permitted to retain membership in the league without proving the conviction of their ideas in action. We, the Canadian Section of the 4th International, are standing at the cross roads. Are we going to build the organization that will lead the Canadian workers to power? We have the cadres and possess the program. Let us make it our program. Let us take it to the workers—into the co-operatives, the trade unions—the organizations of the proletariat.

Some of our comrades rationalize their position, their inactivity and the weakness of our league, by recalling the Winnipeg General Strike and other revolutionary upheavals which seemed more or less spontaneous and had no party leadership – “Well perhaps after all a party won’t be necessary or the party will rise out of these situations.” Comrades —history has proven the falsity of these rationalizations. Without the Bolsheviks there would have been no Soviet Union. Without a revolutionary socialist party there will be no successful social revolution. Witness the

collapse of Spain. We must build the Canadian bolshevik party now and it must be a party with its roots deep in the working class.

To proletarianize our ranks in some cases difficulties will have to be overcome. But the main difficulty, that of getting jobs in industry has already been overcome by the enormous growth of the war industries. Employment in Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia is at its maximum in the twenty years that statistics are available. More and more opportunities to get jobs in factories are opening up particularly since conscription of the twenty-one year old class for home defence has come into effect. The government has even opened up training schools so that we can learn a trade.

The future growth of our organization depends on you and you.. Each group must give serious thought to the problem of its social composition and take immediate steps to remedy it. Act now! We are not doomed forever, as (some) comrades (seem to) think, to isolation and an advisory critical capacity to the working class movement. No! We are the Canadian Bolsheviks. We have the program that can bring socialism to Canada. Our program is Lenin's program and our Transitional demands can rally the Canadian Workers and Farmers to our movement just as "Land, Peace and Bread" rallied the Russian Workers and Peasants to the Bolsheviks. But to utilize our program which has been given to us with such tremendous sacrifice of life, to build a Bolshevik party and to bring socialism to Canada, we members of the Socialist Workers League must plunge into the working class movement.

The War, Women & Industry

(handwritten notes by RD)

Apparent date: during WW2 (text indicates 1941)

When the Normans of William the Conqueror struggled with Harold's serfs on the fields of Hastings - even in ancient tribal wards the women took man's place in the fields and the hunting parties until the hunting grounds were once more large enough to sustain the tribe, or the bounty was safely tucked away in the baron's treasure chests. And again women returned to her former position in society, to slavery and drudgery, to back-breaking work in the fields, to human incubation, to pounding of the grain and the gathering of wood.

Then came the industrial and bourgeois revolutions, the development of the factory system, the growth of monopoly and imperialism, the contracting of the world market and the industrial competition of the East - the wars of 1914-18 (and) 140 --? And women with man was not released from her slavery and drudgery but was shackled to the machine

The war of 1914-18 with its demand for female labor caused by the formation of huge armies of men for trench warfare cut the threads of the moral code and even virtuous women took their place in industry - in the field planting and harvesting, in the factories operating the machines, in the streets running the buses. But when the territories of the imperialists were once more large

enough to sustain their appetites for a period and the booty was safely tucked away in their treasure chests, woman did not return as before to her former position in society - no - woman became a permanent factor in industry - a permanent wage slave. Prior to 1914 in the United States over 75% of all women in manufacturing were in 5 industries (textiles, apparel, food, tobacco and hand & foot wear). By Nov. (19)18 steel plants covered by survey gained 16,000 women while the spinning, weaving and knitting mills lost over 10,000 women. Likewise there was an increase of the percentage of women employed in aircraft (construction) from .4% to 23% from 1914-Nov.'18. Not only did women move away from textiles etc. into new fields of industry but they took over jobs which required skill and experience. In the metal trades 37,683 women substituted for men in the 278 firms covered by survey. Ninety-one firms employed women on lathes in men's places and 83 firms reported on their work as follows: 10% said (the) project (was) a failure, 5% reported work as good or better than men while more than half the firms reporting keep(ing) women as lathe operators after the signing of armistice. And while it is true that 9 months after armistice the no(number of) women employed in the 4 leading war agent and implement industries had dropped to 43.3% of pre-armistice numbers at the same time the no(number) of men employed dropped to 61.5% of pre-armistice force. Not only did woman enter industries where she had never been before but she entered industries where skill and experience were required and what is most important, retained and even increased her numbers in these industries after the emergencies which open the doors to entry that passed away. The Canadian figures substantiate the American findings. In the post-war years of 1921-31 when industry was relatively stable for a capitalist economy, the population increase for Canada was 18%; however the percentage of females gainfully occupied 10 years and over increased 36%.

As individuals, women have a more or less broken industrial life but as a group are a permanent part of the labor supply and even as individuals due to the prolonged depression period of 1929-40 fewer numbers break their industrial life through marriage, pregnancy or retirement. This can best be shown by a breakdown of the number of females gainfully occupied (11 years and over) in Canada into single or married groups.

In the period 1921-31 there was a 36% increase in the number of females gainfully occupied and only an 18% pop(ulation) gain. While the single women comprise by far the largest group, over 80%, their number during this period gained only 33% while the percentage of married women gainfully occupied increased 90%.

In the United States in 1920 a quarter of the total of the number of women working were married and 15% of the women aged 45 years and over were in industry. Married women and women over 45 are obviously a stable section of the employed population. (Notes -- Page " b " 2 sides)

(In the) Early days of Canadian industry when the country was one of less limited opportunity, workers left trades that dissatisfied them, with new (frontiers?) many opened up (their) own shops, or when grievances were many, walked out. (An) organization might or might not be formed and if it was as soon as grievances disappeared, the union died.

Today male workers are stuck in industry, in spite of yokel boy makes good stories (and they) can't walk out or go out to the frontier or bum jobs around. So are women stuck in industry.

Not 'til the 80's did working men consider (them)selves as a permanent class of workers and so developed trade unions. Industry needed a permanent group of wage slaves (and) brought in many settlers. With permanent wage earners came the necessity of permanent trade unions as protection. Women in industry were not permanent. Today as individuals they are subject to a more or less broken industrial life, but as a group (they) are permanent part of the labor supply.

The emergencies of 1915-20 made possible extensive unionism among semi-skilled and unskilled trades - textile, packing houses, metal trades, seamen. Industrial depression marked a falling off of many of these Women concentrated in so-called unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. Over 60% of women gainfully employed in 1920 were in trades, professional service, domestic and personal service and clerical occupations - only about 25% of the male working population are engaged in these trades (at this time.) Women (are) not in strategic industries - mines, railway, building (but what about metal? --RD)

With the depression women not only as a group became permanent in industry but even individually - supporting the male by their jobs. Women got the vote and (there was) no notable change in the political life of the country. (It is) particularly true of women's unions that they were conceived through a strike; women organize in (an) emergency. Old constitutional clauses barring women from positions must be removed. Women should pay the same dues as men, thus (there will be) no recognition of their low wages as permanent.

In all the wars prior to 1940 --?, the American civil war, the Great War of 1914-18 etc., women took her place in industry because of the shortage of male labor, large numbers of the men being forced into army service.

Today in Great Britain where millions of men have been conscripted to defend the far-flung outposts of British Imperialism, the Unemployment exchanges report for the Feb. period 277,301 female unemployed and 303,548 male unemployed - these numbers by no means constitute the total of unemployed workers.

In one Canadian munitions plant 2500 women are employed and only 1500 men. Women taxi cab drivers are making their appearance and on Canadian streets gasoline attendants are delivery girls. Throughout Canada women are rapidly increasing their numbers in the factories, working the night shifts and taking over jobs which heretofore had always been handled by men. Not only in the war industries but even in the textile trades which have for years been a stronghold of female labor. The Weldrest Hosiery employees at Toronto are on strike because the men knitters are losing their jobs to women. In the Dominion Provincial Emergency War Training, of the 3,688 in training for the month ending January 31, 1941 - 306 were female and of the 3,382 males only 828 were sponsored or guaranteed jobs. Of the 306 females 224 were guaranteed jobs. Of the 9,277 afforded training in the industrial classes, only 1,702 were placed in employment.

What's behind all this? Why are women entering industry so rapidly and taking over men's jobs? Is there a shortage of male labor? In the United States there are still over 5 million unemployed. Unemployment figures are available in Canada only through the trade unions that submit reports to the government. The unions reporting for March had a membership of 280,671. Of that membership 6.6% were without employment on April 1st and the organized workers in Canada are the highly skilled workers.

Under the pressure of events even the deep-rooted prejudices of the bourgeoisie against female labor are swept aside. In their haste to swell and pluck the war profits and to capture the markets of Orient from Hitler's forced and Japan's coolie labor, they too must search for cheaper labor. Woman constitutes the cheap labor market. Woman is the unorganized worker.

Findings of a test conducted at the Cheney Silk Works in Pennsylvania showed that men produced 65.37% quantity, women 50%. Men produced 30.74% more than women but women came 2.42% nearer perfect quality in spite of this. The average earnings of women in industry vary from one-half to three-quarters of that of men. In Germany the Krupps and Siemens used the fascist party to crush the workers trade unions and force the German workers to accept miserable wages; women were told their place was in the home raising children for cannon-fodder. In Canada we have a free labor market, free to work at low wages. At present the capitalists consider the fascist movement a luxury, empowered as they are with the Industrial Disputes Act and the Defence of Canada Regulations, but another tool that they are wielding to lower the present standard of living is women labor.

No longer can the trade union movement allow the slogan of equal work equal wages to remain a statute on the constitution. Industrial unionism was a big step in the right direction. To organize women labor is a life and death problem to Canadian trade unionism.

1943-June16

June 16 1943

DEAR MOTHER

I have decided to devote some time tonight to writing you a letter like every mother wants her son to write. I am at present sitting on a promenade which extends along the front of Three Rivers, where all the fellows come in get pick-ups... there are a few freighters, ocean-going, tied to the docks, loading with birch logs which I presume will be used to make cordite -- a powerful explosive. All the freighters are heavily armed ...

Three Rivers is an industrial town with the world's largest pulp and paper plant, a cotton mill and iron works. There are all kinds of monasteries and churches, and no public library. At Cap de la Madeleine 5 miles away, on the edge of town there are the most horrible habitations that I have ever seen with about 20 kids in a room. The kids in a family don't appear to have one year's difference between them.

Well you may now announce to the Mt. Dennis News Weekly that Candidate R. Dowson has passed Army examiner's, the amateur psychologists, the Army board, the Dental Corps and is now a Cadet. What can one think of the Army examiners — the psychologist when they pass me — eh! I am to remain in Three Rivers for Officers Training ... at last we have a success in the family. My pay from now on is \$3 a day — I have become a war profiteer.

1
Aug 2nd, 1943

Dear Lois.

I notice your letter was dated just one month ago but I received it only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ wks ago. Needless to say I was glad to hear you spoke to Dr Ryerson and I am not at all surprised at his answer.

What does this course offer you?
Ryerson promises employment with the Health and Insurance Act Administration if and when you complete the course.
You say you are a War Guest — you will be a war guest in Med or Engineering but you will ^{be} and are a war guest in the PT course. There is no difference except you think that you can work your way in the PT — that the standard or competition is lower — That! I am quite sure is incorrect or at least the standard

(2)

is but very slightly lower. Meds course is quite a fashionable one and attracts all kinds of dopes the same is true of Engineering — see Doug Knowles. I am quite sure that your ~~opportunity~~ opportunity of winning prizes in the other courses is just as great. At any rate that logic seems to me to be very weak in choosing a career if one can plan one in such troublesome times.

Can you win a prize next year in the PT course? The most capable person often fails to win the prize — Edna Oke — her old man — the same situation exists in the university only more so because these institutions depend to no small extent on gifts from prominent people who have sons & daughters. The markers are also not without prejudice. — Suppose you do win prizes in the PT course — very few prizes are sufficient

③ to put you through a year. Do you realize it costs about 800 dollars to put you thro one year - clothes board fee, ^{etc} - any prizes you win are a mere bagatelle.

Now! let us look to the future. Let us suppose that you are able to complete the course - that you win prizes, that the war goes on or there is continued prosperity chez Dawson. which a scientific analysis of society will deny - what have you got? - an administrative job in a government organization or a PT instructor in a government school - hamstrung in ideas, unstable employment - depending on government institutions for employment. You must have a respectable background and a respectable outlook and connections, you must conform in ideas and not only that you must express or enact the administrative

④ form of these ~~ideas~~ ^{ideas}. Of course the man at a machine must conform to the whims of the boss but he is not compelled to enunciate the ideas of the boss - he can remain silent or if in a union he can enunciate his own ideas - but a government employee - even a school instructor unless he is a Bertrand Russell or John Dewey is doomed to a low life. Aside from all that - what kind of satisfaction can these types of jobs give you - an engineer or doctor plays a creature role. A doctor's practice can be decimated by his social outlook but he can usually scrape along - I know several. This is assuming that the world continues on as is - that we don't have depression that we don't have socialism or fascism - these suppositions we cannot make

(5)

If we have socialism it will not matter but if we have fascism - government employment will be so much worse - and will you even complete your course? ~~of~~

If you fail to complete your course what have you got in the PT one - a bit of knowledge more or less useless. If you fail to complete Meds or Engineering you will at least have some useful knowledge.

What about the last year that you have spent. Even if you do not continue - the year will not have been wasted - it will only be wasted in an academic sense - that is you will get no official recognition of your knowledge - no degree. You have certainly learned a great deal which would be useful in many other courses.

At any rate because you have spent

(6)

a year on an unsatisfactory course should not ~~the~~ really affect a decision To continue this course may mean that you will be dissatisfied with your position in society for a long time to come.

To base your decision on future conditions whether we continue to have dough, whether the govt will provide a Health Insurance Org, whether you will be able to win prizes to finance yourself - would in my opinion be wrong. We can point to 2 future political developments but the tempo and rhythm of their development can ~~not~~ be charted on a graph. I would be a fool to say that you will complete either course or that one course will offer you ^{immediately} more chances of employment than another.

I would base my decision on what course interested me most

⑦

what course fits me for a more constructive beneficial role in society.

For myself I would take Surgery or Engineering - but that is up to yourself - I might even take up Economics. At any rate even so far as jobs in the future I believe a degree in Medicine or Engineering would offer you better possibilities.

I have sent a letter to the Natl Film Board offering my camera for sale. The price is now about as high as it will ever get and its too damn valuable to lug around and if I don't lug it around and use it I might just as well not be mine. If the offer is about \$225 I will loan you 175 or so for the next term.

It is however up to you to make the decision - these are just my

⑧

opinions - and you know I don't think it absolutely vital that you go to university. What's wrong with Small Arms? You can educate yourself if you have the will - but if I went to University I would be damned if I would take the PT Course.

Tomorrow morning I pull out for 9 days in the Quebec wilds. I wrote this on the bed during 2 evenings. So I can keep up to date with the situation & the riots in Milan will you as soon as possible take out 1 month sub to the globe & mail - send to

Cadet R.D.

Cadets Mess

O3 OTC

Three Rivers

I will pay Ma when I come home

⑦

which I will probably be able
to do on the week-end at the
end of the scheme

Regards to all
Ross

May 11, 1944

GENTLEMEN:

It is now 5 months since I informed Col. Denison of my desire to resign my commission in the Canadian army... I have found it extremely difficult to train those under my command due to the numerous ranks in authority over me and the use they make of their authority... It is my impression that a lieutenant is not supposed to think or act on his own but to enforce the petty whims and desires of his superior officers... My outlook on life in general and on the army, I find to be more in common with that of the other ranks than that of my fellow officers...

November 20 1944

Dear Gang;

I have received your two contributions on the CCF alright and have kicked back your copy of the novelette. I see that you were going to send the months dough but decided to send it under separate cover—well I hope to hell that you havent sent it yet for I have not received it. In no hurry but hope it hasnt gone astray.

There is a fellow that I think you should make every effort to locate in Ottawa. His name is Lloyd Sawyer and he is married to a girl named Polly—they were both Kremites and very active ones—I had tried to re-interest them along with Frank and Ellen, I mean with the aid of—but they seemed to be slightly tired. However they are good stuff and now the trick might be accomplished. I am trying to get the address but if that backwoods has a city directory it should be no trouble finding them—he was at one time a teacher but he might be anything now.

I met Ronny and had a little chat with him. Told him that I would send a copy of all available stuff to read as soon as it came off the press—only too glad to loan anything we have here and hope you will take advantage of the offer.

I think it would be a good idea when you drop in on New York to ask for Art or E.R. Frank—I think the latter is the one who has the best picture of our situation. Unfortunately their convention was held the week-end that you sent the stuff so Bill attended with only what he could remember of the goings on. I have since sent all material and probably E.R. has seen it. If you could and he is able to spend the time I would like you to spend the day with him—any advise he can give us etc. Will you have any room to bring anything back? We here are in great need of the ABC stuff-- the trials etc. Whatever you can do will be appreciated — we will kick thro.

I was glad to hear the news about the paper. We will have to get to work on it right away. Have you had a chance to see Frank yet—what does he think of the proposals so far—have you been able to consult Jean? (Jean-Marie Bédard –ed) I have not heard from them for some time. It is now my opinion that Challenge is the best name so far suggested. It has a shade of melodrama and church vanguardism in it but what has anyone else to offer. We can always change our name as we see things develop but right now I think our other suggested name would

serve to mark us too sharply and attract the wrong peoples attention—after all we want to distribute it in the Haldimand and Trinity CCF. As far as size is concerned I notice that The Tribune, The Commonwealth and Le Canada Nouveau are all the same — that can not be an accident – it may have to do with paper stock sizes but off hand I would say let us carry on with the same size. The whitish paper that the Commonwealth uses is out—it is about the deadest looking rag I ever saw—prefer the yellowishness of Le Canada and the Tribune. The Tribune cuss them have a dawn good paper typographically but that has a lot to do with their columns which liven it up and profuse use of cuts—but they are a weekly and we can for the present talk only once a month so we cannot follow. But I think we should have one column something like left jabs. I am going to subscribe at once to all the CCF papers—we can possibly use some of their material, particularly the West—it would be good cover. Small cartoons like Stalinists at work and a steaming sewer, or line drawings of political figures mentioned in the articles I think are even preferable to most photos. This Canada Nouveau is not bad —a few little cuts would give it just the added colour. I am enclosing some clippings from prominent tabloids—the types and column widths that I liked best I have marked in ink—what do you think? The man who has the most valuable experience is Jean—he must have some pet ideas that he would like to see used --after all he is the guy with the practical experience. You must take a week end off and go to see him. Take the expenses from the sustaining fund. If you are unable I will take a trip down but since it costs \$20 I do not like to take it so soon after the conference. I will certainly go to Montreal before February but I would like to see us get a lot of it straightened up soon so we could get the opinion and approval of the West. I have no copies of Jean's papers at hand so am unable to discuss them.

The Challenge

Small cartoons & cuts

Articles must be of a semi-theoretical character as paper is a monthly— cartoons will break this deadness however. A Left-jabs would give it a little raciness. We could have a column on the editorial page somewhat like the English press but the CCF to power on the following program; the transitional demands. This I think would set the tone of the paper. The (paper) is a propaganda paper—not agitational, this should be always kept in mind when discussing the format, N'est-ce pas?

Very glad. to hear about the new developments there. If you are really breaking the ice it might be well to postpone your departure until everything is on a firm base. Our press fund is coming along fine....Chris kicked in with \$10 a month. I should be able within a week or so to send you a full report on what is going on everywhere.

The very best

(Signed) Ross

Would you send the mail to Dicks until we see what the situation is with me. I passed the physical with flying colours as was expected – the next few weeks should tell.

November 29, 1944

Dear friends;

Received your very good news about the developments in Ottawa. As I mentioned in the last letter – I think it might be valuable to stall off departure for a few months, however since you have already made definite arrangements is it possible for Mark to stay a few more months to consolidate?

Ideas pre-Press are now flying fast and thick so now let us make an attempt to consolidate them.

First the name—which seems to be causing a lot of trouble. More trouble than I think warranted for the U.S. boys have been getting along with a name that was quite poor – Socialist Appeal. The name is now Militant which is approximately what should aim at. First let us deal with a few factors which must be considered in choosing the name. One—we are in a period of illegality; the nature of the paper will be decidedly influenced by this – there is no purpose in giving the paper a name which is in advance of its content – the only result would be a limitation of its circulation and premature undesirable investigation by the authorities. This paper is quite correctly going to be oriented to the CCF and the Trade union movement. While the CCF has made tremendous organizational gains nonetheless we are not aware of a conscious left wing grouping as yet. Obviously the paper is going to be circulated in the CCF by our people – what reception does anyone think that a Socialist Militant would receive – it appears to me that it would isolate us and even perhaps cause a premature expulsion. Of course the paper is going to be in advance of developments in the CCF – we are going to utilize it to develop the CCF in a revolutionary direction but we must realize the limitations of the period in which we work. The name should characterize the contents of the paper, but rather than be to the left of the contents I would prefer that it was weaker than the contents and yet partially descriptive – for this reason I suggested the Challenge but we are informed that that name is in use by the Stalinist Youth so it is out of the question. Someone suggests Labour Challenge. Another is Labor Action. The latter is being used by the Schachtmanites in the U.S. but this should not prevent our using it here. Some want the word socialist used in the name. I question the value as the term in most peoples minds means practically nothing or reformism. However Socialist Action is a fair name but unfortunately cannot be used.

The Socialist	Socialist Militant	Labor Action	The Militant	Labor
Challenge				

I cast my vote in for Labor Action even tho that implies an agitational paper and not a propaganda paper. What is your choice.

Second—Are we all agreed that the paper will be a tabloid the same size as the Tribune and Canada Nouveau. That the columns will be of standard size – five 2inch columns. The Commonwealth has only 4 columns but as one of you point out if we use 2inch columns so we can use standard mattes. We will use the type that is closest to what you have called Futura Bold.

We will also use heavy types in the body of articles to emphasize and relieve monotony (8 pages)
I am 100%

I made a suggestion which you did not deal with but I consider very important re the characterization of the paper. I suggested that on the editorial page we should have a permanent column as follows: THE CCF TO POWER ON THE FOLLOWING PROGRAM *****
Confiscation of ALL WAR PROFITS, Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers control

The defense of the soviet union against imperialist attack

For a sliding scale of wages and hours

For full cultural political and economic equality for the French Canadian peoples.

Complete democratic rights for the armed forces—freedom of assembly, speech etc.

These are not final formulations and there may be a few other demands that we would want included but these will characterize the paper and around this will we build our CCF support. What do you think?

We are subscribing to the east and west coast CCF and LPP papers and hope to get articles from both these areas but failing this will pull them out of whatever information we can dig up. There may be occasions when we can print whole articles from the CCF press when we find them satisfactory.

I suggest perhaps 3 regular columns. One could be a Gleaning from the News, it would need little comment—just clippings of news that has a lesson or news that never reaches most of the press. We could also have a column along the lines of Left Jabs—the Sniper is the Commonwealth version—we would want a regular contributor with a personal touch. With regard (to) the next column I would like to know just what our relationship is with Valliencourt. Can they put out a French paper? If so there is no need for a French Column. If they cannot I suggest that we publish a French article or column in each issue. It has been suggested that we have an Ottawa column—this could be the Left Jabs. Ottawa is assuming more importance particularly as the CCF gets more MPs. I think 3 columns is sufficient. Since the paper is only a monthly the articles will have to be a semi-theoretical nature but the columns will liven it up. What say?

One of the boys is in touch with a commercial artist who seems to be interested in helping us along. Since photos reproduce badly in most of these printing shops and because they usually lack life it is suggested that little line drawings and cartoons be used to spruce the paper up. We will have to be in very close contact with this fellow as the cartoons will have to suit the articles. This also raises the question of collaborators who are not 100%

This paper is not going to be like the New International opened up in 1936—that is with an open forum character. This paper is our paper not a vague left wing movement in the CCF. I see no objection to accepting articles from persons who are non members as long as the material is acceptable to us. All articles are appearing with a by-line, so that solves this problem to a certain

extent—but we are only using bylines for legal reasons. It is quite possible that we can get contributions from persons who do not see eye to eye with us but the individual article must be acceptable to ourselves.

As you mention in the last letter we must get the sub cards out. Well we must first decide the name and also the editor. I will know my status very shortly as I report on Dec. 4th. But as you suggest let's work on a make-ready copy. Have you notified F as to the idea?

Would all of you answer this letter point by point so that we can have some definite directions.

Regards

December 10, 1944

Dear Frank;

On Saturday we received from Montreal along with a report of the CCF Convention a short note on your relationship with the group there. I can not recall the exact details of the report as it is not at hand at the moment but they are of no immediate importance. I recall from the report that you are no longer living with Al and that you have notified our friends that you are taking a rest for a period of 2 to 6 months – the purpose of this retirement is by no means clear.

Of course I was amazed to hear this after our so successful conference of last month and having known your attitude towards organizational problems in the past. I have long been aware that your personal relationship with Al has not been all that could be desired but in the past you have never allowed your personal relationships to interfere with your political activities—I find it hard to believe that this is now the case.

Shortly over a month ago at the Montreal Conference you were chosen by friends from Toronto, Ottawa, Prince Rupert, Vancouver and Montreal to represent them on the National Committee and also on the Editorial Board of our press. I state this only to draw to your attention your prestige in our organization and the responsibilities that you assumed so recently. We are now in the process of drawing the strings together in preparation for the formation of a national organization. We are laying the foundations for the mass revolutionary party. You and I and other responsible members of the organization must now set the standard of disciplined conduct.

Any hasty actions or decisions taken at this time may cause you regret for a long period to come. You owe yourself and ourselves an explanation of your attitude—perhaps we can do something to help you. In all fairness to you nothing is being said to any of our friends about the Montreal report. We are looking forward to an immediate and detailed report of your attitude towards our ideas and organization.

Warmest Greetings